

PEACE NEWS

No. 452 February 9, 1945 2d.

U.S. - RUSSIAN DEAL

To settle Europe's future

THE Big Three are ready at the rendezvous. Reports have it that Roosevelt intends to speak sharply to Stalin, and to make it clear that the USA "will not support any totalitarian régimes whether of the Right or the Left" in liberated countries. (Observer, Feb. 4.) I cannot believe that it will have much effect. Uncle Joe is in possession.

Observer's Commentary

SAID Lord Cranborne on Jan. 8: "If after this war, there are set up dictatorships all over Europe, whether of the Right or the Left, then we may have beaten Hitler, but we shall have lost the war." By that criterion, we are hardly winning it. Nobody troubles very much to contend that Marshal Tito's government is not a one-party affair. But we do right to support it (argued The Times recently, Jan. 12) because "here as elsewhere in liberated Europe, any provisional authority which is to be effective must be round the hard core of the resistance movement."

But in Yugo-Slavia, as in Greece, there are two cores; and just as the harder of the two in Greece was discovered to consist of very tough guys indeed, so we may suppose it is in Yugo-Slavia. With any luck Gen. Mihailovitch might now have been the opposite number to Gen. Plastiras.

To discover any principle operative in the discrimination made between them by Mr. Churchill is impossible. Communists, anathema in Greece, are unexceptionable in Yugo-Slavia: where they compose the great majority of Tito's government.

Russia in control

ALTOGETHER Eastern Europe is an ironical commentary on the professions of the Atlantic Charter. The Czech Government, rapidly brought to heel by the Russian threat to detach sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, has recognized the Lublin "government" of Poland. The Polish Government in London has naturally severed relations with the Czech Government.

According to the Daily Mail (Jan. 29) the USA has sent a note to King Peter "of such a character that the Prime Minister will feel it necessary to raise the question of co-operation in foreign policy with President Roosevelt." It would be more in accord in realities if both of them were able to raise the question with Stalin.

A New York report in the News Chronicle (Jan. 29) declares:

"The possibility that Russia may be contemplating establishing in East Prussia a Provisional German Government, which is being widely discussed in Washington, does not seem to be altogether unwelcome... The possibility that Russia may act unilaterally is not discounted."

What is the use of pretending? Russia is in complete command of the situation in Eastern Europe. She is doing, and will do, precisely what she pleases. Benevolently, she has allowed Britain a free hand in Greece. Thus far, and no farther. Everywhere else Russia renders, and will render, no account to anybody of her actions. Let President Roosevelt see if he can get American newspaper men into the Russian zone.

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

To old friends and new

THE last time we made our appeal in this place on behalf of Headquarters Fund, we gave the total contributed to the Fund during the year 1944. In the present paragraph we want to ask for the continued support of the many friends, known and unknown, for whose help through this channel we are so grateful. The sum of £653 12s. 6d. for the year is a large and most valuable item of our annual income.

Who are they that give us such substantial help, which we gladly accept as a tangible token of their interest in our cause and of their confidence in the fellowship which unites us all in furthering it—a token valued as much for the moral encouragement as for the financial means which it provides? It is estimated that several thousand readers of this paper are not direct subscribers to the PPU. It was to give this considerable unattached margin of readers an opportunity to offer some financial contribution to our work that Headquarters Fund was instituted. WHAT SPLENDID USE THEY HAVE MADE OF IT! From them has come during the 12 months just ended the handsome sum above-mentioned.

No wonder we propose again to make our financial appeal throughout the present year, in this corner of PN so kindly put at our disposal by the Editor. We thank all our steadfast comrades for their loyal support, both past and prospective.

**MAUD ROWNTREE
CORDER CATCHPOOL**

Joint Treasurers

Contributions to Headquarters Fund since Jan. 26: £75 17s. 7d. Total to date for 1945: £148 10s. 2d. Donations to the Fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

A constructive peace?

NEXT week we shall publish the first of a special series of articles by well-known writers dealing with major aspects of the peace problem. The series has been planned in co-operation with the National Peace Council, and is intended to contribute to the general purpose of the NPC's Campaign for a Constructive Peace. Each article will relate to an appropriate sub-section of the National Petition for a Constructive Peace.

The first article will be by CHRISTOPHER DAWSON; other contributors will include: E. F. SCHUMACHER, DR. RITA HINDEN, F. L. JOSEPHY, M.A.,

LEYTON RICHARDS, and W. B. CURRY.

To achieve the maximum stimulation of thought and discussion, each writer is being given complete freedom to deal with the theme on the assumption that he or she is sympathetic to a constructive approach to the problems involved. The contributors will not be committed in any way to the precise policies formulated in the Petition; nor should the articles be taken to represent the views of Peace News or the National Peace Council.

In view of the urgent importance of the theme of the series, we urge all regular readers to get Peace News into the hands of others who will be interested—next week and during the weeks following.

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE PEACE:

Two Europes or one?

THE dangers involved in Europe being "liberated in two halves" was the theme of an address by H. N. Brailsford at the Kingsway Hall, London, on Friday—the first of a series of lunch-hour addresses arranged by the National Peace Council on "The Outlook for the Peace."

"With the penetration in the east of the various liberating Russian armies," he said, "we are witnessing the creation throughout eastern Europe of a Russian sphere of interest: a broad belt of territory running down from Poland to Yugo-Slavia. The governments of the various States within it will very obviously be expected to conform their foreign policy to that of Moscow."

Mr. Brailsford referred to the plans that had been put forward for a economic and military Western Union. Strategically, he believed, this was directed more against Russia than against the possibility of a German attempt at revenge. Mr. Bevin's admission that Britain's interest in Greece also was a strategic one pointed in the same direction.

Mr. Brailsford thought that the projected Western Union would not prove practicable because France apparently intended to make her alliance with Russia the cornerstone of her policy—for which he was thankful.

STRUGGLE FOR UNITY

Earlier in his speech he had referred to Hitler's "New Order" project as but one of the attempts that had been made to unify the Continent: "we have seen Europe struggle to attain unity all through the ages since Charlemagne." Although "it would have meant the degradation of the life of Europe to the order of a barrack-yard," he was "not sure whether, from a purely economic standpoint, there might not have been some balance of gain, because the evil of an unplanned competitive economy is so immense."

Turning to the question of how the aim of European unity, "one of the most precious of the unrealized aims of humanity," could be furthered, he said: "I don't think that in these conditions, with all eastern Europe linked up with the Soviet Union and occupied by the Red Army, that it is much use talking in political terms of European federation." In any case the problem of maintaining peace had to be thought out on a world-wide scale.

Even then there remained all the functions of organizing civilized government in Europe itself, and we should set ourselves to think out how, faced with this sectionalization, we could organize the life of Europe without arousing suspicions.

"I suggest starting from the emergencies and needs of the hour—getting to work in Europe at a

time when the economic life of Europe demands rebuilding and setting life flowing again."

Although UNRRA had proved a bitter disappointment and the work of rehabilitation had been taken away from it, Europe (including Britain) should set up an UNRRA of its own, primarily for the purpose of rehabilitation. "This European UNRRA could include all that is necessary for a normal civilized existence in this Continent—and I include the enemy peoples with the Allies."

"This might be the beginning of really creative planning of the economic life of the Continent."

(The next address in the series—today, Friday—is by the Bishop of Birmingham, at 1.10 p.m. Another series of weekly lectures under NPC auspices, entitled "Towards World Recovery," dealing with the various functional international agencies and projects concerned with social and economic reconstruction, opened at the Livingstone Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday: each lecture is at 5 p.m.)

Re-education of Britain

by PERCY REDFERN

ADVERTISERS continue to proclaim a good time coming. Peace and plenty of their goods are only round the corner. But can the merchants now believe in their own assurances?

This war is not the war of 1914-18. In its prolonged devastation it is an unprecedented calamity, such as must in time lead millions to look beyond the battles and ruefully consider what we were and to what we have come.

The political conditions on which British policy has relied during past centuries are utterly gone. In Europe, outside Britain, the Napoleonic wars left four great, balancing States. In future, it seems, there will be only one, that Soviet Union which is "not a country but a continent." Safe from British sea-power, the Union is more free to disregard British ideas and aims than Germany ever was or could be. To what the change has meant for our professions, Poland, the Baltic States, and the Balkans already witness.

Beyond Europe is Japan. To restore the empire which the Japanese have taken in the east, we now depend on others. And in relation to that dependence The Economist has recently written of consequent British "humiliations and abasements." In the world of domination, benevolent or

otherwise, we have neither the white population and birthrate nor the extent of contiguous, unified territory to compete with the Powers in the east and in the west.

Of our economic descent from a creditor to a debtor nation, we have all heard. The full realities of the position we have yet to experience. The people weary of being rationed, of going without, of taxation here and pledged saving there; yet it is likely that relaxations would soon bring us down to our real state. We plan for after the war as if the country were still rich or richer. But our powers are reduced; and we have to see whether the reduction will not empty our promises at home as it has emptied our political guarantees and the derelict Atlantic Charter.

Strength from weakness

Whatever the margin of error, here is sufficient truth to produce a basis for re-education. We have regarded peace as a British interest, and called ourselves "peace-loving." Did we mean any more than that we wanted to be undisturbed in the comfort of our great possessions? We must be more realistic about peace in future. Inferior to one world partner in population and wealth and in population and land control to another, even the far-flung empire will not make us

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PEACE NEWS

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Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

The liberation of Europe

THERE are moments when the contents of a single issue of a great newspaper are symbolic. Events of themselves conspire to reveal their own significance. So it was with The Times of Jan. 29. On one page appeared two independent reports of the rapidly growing lawlessness of "liberated" Europe. First, a shooting affray in Rome between Carabinieri and gangster gunmen, the investigation of which makes it clear that:

"It is now a simple matter for anybody in Italy who has the necessary funds to maintain a private army. Arms are there in abundance and there is no lack of youths of the desperado type who became outlaws during the German occupation and have remained so. All they demand is someone to give them food."

The other item concerns American deserters in France, of whom there are thousands in Paris where, "usually in organized groups, they are extensively engaged in trafficking on the French black market in American army stores." Only a few weeks ago, it was reported that 3 US officers and 181 rank and file, as an organized gang, had been arrested for selling a whole trainload of American army supplies to the black market. And one of the gangster groups recently rounded up in Rome consisted of American deserters. That is not to suggest that the Americans are the chief offenders, but to remind ourselves that there is a highly developed technique of organized racketeering by gunmen in USA of which many accomplished exponents will naturally be found in the US army. This technique and tradition largely originated in Italy. Members of the Italian secret societies got together again in the land of freedom, and a new vigorous growth of gangsterdom in the new environment ensued. It is now transplanted again to the continent of Europe. Twice transplanted (the nurserymen say) makes a specially vigorous plant.

On the leader page of The Times is an article pointing out that all plans for the destruction, total or partial, of German industry must produce a dangerous impoverishment of Europe as a whole. The economic settlement of Europe, says the writer, must satisfy two conditions. It must be consistent with the military and political arrangements to prevent the emergence of Germany as a war-making Power; and it must provide a sound basis for the recovery and steady expansion of the living standards of all Europeans.

"These two objectives are of equal importance. Without the first, there can be no security for anyone, and there can be no economic recovery without security. Without the second social forces making for war will assuredly take root in Europe—not necessarily or only in Germany."

In the leading article the theme is linked with an appeal for immediate decisions at the still undated conference.

"The leading statesmen of the United Nations will not remain indifferent to the dangers of a relapse of Europe into economic and political chaos. Reports even from the comparatively favoured countries of liberated Western Europe paint a dark picture of widespread privation and disorganization of essential services. The sufferings of the civilian population in other areas from which reports rarely come are probably far grimmer and more desperate."

In Belgium and in France the common people are already saying, as they stand forlornly in their queues, that it is worse than it was under the German occupation. That is the plain truth. And the situation is deteriorating every day. Starvation, black-market, racketeering, lawlessness, hideous political savagery—such as the appalling blood-bath in Bulgaria—which the Russian Isvestia reproaches us with not imitating in Italy—these are becoming the staple of human existence in Europe.

Even were we certain that the statesmen now in conference would pay heed to the misery of Europe, we could not be sanguine that Europe could be saved from the abyss except by a miraculous conversion—a sudden descent of moral sanity upon the war-drunken leaders of the world.

The national State is doomed

— says
J. K. MASON

UNDER the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles only 3% of the population of Europe were placed under alien rule. Never before had the principle of national self-determination been applied so thoroughly in drawing up the map of the Continent. Why is it that this frontier system, which a genuine idealist like President Wilson had a large hand in creating, was so quickly broken down?

Products of our education, most English people regard it as axiomatic that each nation is entitled to be self-governing and establish "its own" national State. Few nations, it is true, do more than the British to deny this right to others, India being the obvious example. Even here, however, lip-service is paid to the ideal by promising Indians Dominion status.

Where strategic interest and "idealism" combine, as in Europe, Britain is insistent on the right of nations to self-determination; and it is, indeed, largely to restore the European system of separate national States, as opposed to the German continental system, that the present European war is being fought.

How much justification is there for this assumption that the national State is the "natural" form of government? Political forms have changed in the past and will, we may be sure, change in the future. The area we now call Italy consisted a century ago of nine separate States; Germany consisted of forty. Is it possible in this country that we shall move from a world of national States into a world divided politically into units of continental size, centring round the main industrial regions of the earth?

The new trend

THIS possibility has been hinted at by quite a number of writers of late. James Burnham in his "Managerial Revolution" states roundly that this is so. G. D. H. Cole in "Europe, Russia and the future" writes:

"The first essential for facing the problems of European reconstruction is to cut asunder in our own minds the notions of nationality and of independent Statehood. There must be national groupings all over Europe; for nationality is a real and creative force in the minds of men. But nationality can no longer, in this twentieth century, provide a basis for the State."

E. H. Carr in his "Conditions of Peace" and W. Friedmann in his "Crisis of the National State" have said much the same thing.

An obvious factor hastening this change is the steady cheapening and speeding-up of means of transport and communication. Railways, by revolutionizing transport a century ago, hastened the emergence of national States, such as Italy and Germany. Today the internal combustion engine, whether in motor, lorry, aeroplane, or tank, whether used peaceably for the conveyance of goods or violently for warfare, is furthering the process. Steadily, be it for good or ill, the geographical range of the market accessible to any given manufacturing plant is extending, affording the opportunity of mass-production; and mass-production then in turn becomes a factor, disintegrating small units and straining after large ones.

Effect of frontiers

NOWHERE is the disequilibrium between a system of national States and the potentialities of transport better illustrated than in the pre-war position of civil aviation in Europe.

Instead of a single air authority sixteen national authorities, apart from Russia, competed with each other. Their mutual rivalries frustrated co-operation; fifty air-line companies scrambled for a limited custom; and as many as six lines competed between two capitals. Heavily subsidized, the planes flew empty, and even an efficient air-mail was prevented through lack of co-operation.

And even in the remote Carpathian foothills national frontiers could be an encumbrance to simpler purposes

of life. Following Versailles, Rumanian pastoral farmers had to cut down the size of their flocks because the growth of nationalism and the creation of small States had cut them off from formerly used winter pastures.

The growth of international political ideologies, such as communism, socialism, and fascism, has been a symptom of this growing divergence between State and nation; while the events of the present war have shown conclusively that the majority of small nations, with neither the industrial potential to produce vast armaments nor the space in which to deploy them, cannot possibly maintain their independence by military methods. As far as we can judge a system of separate national sovereignties in Continental Europe (outside Russia) can only be maintained henceforth by military intervention or the constant threat of military intervention by Britain, Russia, or the USA.

Revise our ideas

WHAT has all this to do with pacifism? Two things: first it may prove that as military methods fail, non-violent ones will come, as in India, to play an increasing role in asserting national aspirations.

Secondly, people who renounce violence need not wash their hands of politics. Cool heads may have the wisest things to say. If the settlement after this war is to stand even a chance of being durable we have got to revise our notions of the nation and the State. Nationalism is not enough; international authorities have to be set up, transcending national boundaries, to arrange more sensibly than in the past the affairs of the five continents and of the human race.

Our tribal gods

by LEOPOLD HUGHMAN

FROM time to time during the war the old tribal god is brought out of the cupboard, dusted and prayed to; and then forgotten until things go badly again. Hitler has often made reference to the blessing of his tribal god—whom he calls "the Almighty." (In his broadcast last week he said, "... we shall be entitled to face the Almighty and to ask His mercy and His benediction.")

The tribal god has another name: "Providence," and in its capacity as "Providence" its function seems to be one of guidance by the hand. The Russians don't consider it necessary to believe in a God of Battle, let alone invoke one, and, to put it mildly, they appear to be doing as well as anybody on the world's battlefronts.

I cannot remember reading of Marshal Stalin calling for a National Day of Prayer to the Russian tribal god, or even attributing the successes of his armies to "the guiding hand of Providence." The strange man, he thinks that the winning of a battle by Soviet troops is due to the commanders and the men who obey their orders. In 1941, when Moscow was near to falling, Stalin decreed no National Day of Prayer, but made defensive preparations which left "the Almighty" out of account. Despite this neglect, Moscow never fell.

THAT makes one think, when recollecting the disastrous effects of some of our "N.D. of P." One of them was evidently imbued with so much fervour that the tribal god, taken aback, lost his balance, and in his frantic efforts to pull strings on our behalf (the appeal was urgent) he pulled the wrong strings. And France fell.

Since that time we have been moderate in our appeals to "the Almighty," though Winston Churchill has condescendingly given him honourable mention in one or two of his speeches in the House. (It's not everyone's god that gets into "Hansard.") We had, of course, a N.D. of P. last year, but as far as I could tell, it was soft-pedalled a bit: discretion was the better part of valour.

Now we learn that the American tribal god has been invoked recently.

The SHAEF point of view

From a Western Front dispatch from Paul Holt in the Daily Express on Monday:

"SHOULD a Roman Catholic chaplain attached to the British Liberation Army... undertake any of the duties of a parish priest in the German villages liberated by Montgomery's troops?"

"To answer these questions Monsignor Joseph Stapleton, senior Roman Catholic chaplain of the British Second Army, has been summoned to fly home by the War Office."

"The trouble comes from a story which has appeared in a Catholic paper, which says quite bluntly that British Roman Catholic Army chaplains in the field are undertaking parish duties in liberated Germany."

"Although to a Christian such functions might seem normal and unexceptionable, to the Supreme Allied Headquarters they are one thing only—fraternizing with the enemy."

"During Monsignor Stapleton's visit to Whitehall orders have been left with all chaplains in his charge that they are to discontinue such practices."

WORDS OF PEACE

No. 111

I sometimes wonder whether those who preach the philosophy of hatred realize what they are doing. Surely they are pushing an open door?

It is all too easy to hate—at least I find it so! Hatred is founded on fear, and fear is a mistrust of one's own power to face difficulty. Hatred is like gin-drinking—a kind of Dutch courage which stimulates only to leave you weaker and more depressed afterwards; it gives an illusion of strength and courage, but it is only an illusion.

You cannot found a constructive philosophy or way of life on a destructive hypothesis. Hatred is destructive, and purely destructive.

—Lady Sinclair, The Star, Jan. 16.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Last week Peace News quoted the prayer on a Christmas Card presented by General Patton to each of the soldiers serving under him:

"Almighty and most merciful Father, we humbly beseech Thee of Thy great goodness to restrain these immoderate rains with which we have had to contend. Grant us fair weather for battle. Graciously hearken to us as soldiers who call upon Thee that, armed with Thy power, we may advance from victory to victory..."—and so on.

THAT really is a "mouthful." But, after all, there have probably been thousands of tribal chiefs down through the ages who have used Patton's exact words before "engaging the enemy": "Grant us fair weather for battle." And "armed with the power" of the tribal god (and anthropologists would no doubt tell us that it could be a real energizing power for working up battle-lust) many battles have been won.

Now, if our Commanders and Prime Ministers and Presidents and Dictators (I speak as a member of the "Christian," "civilized" world) want their tribal gods to play with, then let them make an open renunciation of Christianity. And for a Church that does not repudiate the bomber, it is monstrous to say: "For there is none other that fighteth for us, but only Thou, O God."

"He answered and said unto them, Well hath Esias prophesied of you hypocrites, as it is written, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me" (Mark 7, v. 6).

posters & a pamphlet on food relief

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D-DAY to 1945

by ROY WALKER

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IF Indi fails, eventually, pacifist m set back l belief; I realize ju future freedom here?

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THE PART OF THE P.P.U.

IF India's non-violence movement fails, if independence is secured eventually through violent means, the pacifist movement in the West will be set back by years. That is my sincere belief; I wonder if PPU members realize just how close this links the future of the movement for Indian freedom with our own movement here?

Facing the facts, we see that the Indian nationalist movement has had very little more than a pile of sympathy from those in the West who believe socially applied violence to be wrong, and if it is true that non-violence movements will evoke nothing more than non-active sympathy on the part of the pacifists in "aggressor" nations then our chances of securing any wide measure of support for our doctrines are thereby decreased.

The PPU, as a movement, is largely tired of India and disillusioned about the effects of ordinary methods of propaganda. It cannot see much sense in holding more public meetings and attending conferences if nothing fresh emerges from them. This was shown at the annual conference of the Indian Freedom Campaign on Jan. 28, for, despite the fact that the PPU is now officially affiliated to the IFC, fewer PPU delegates attended this conference than ever before.

But the blame for this lack of interest cannot be placed simply on the shoulders of the Indian Freedom Campaign Committee, for the task of this mixed committee must be to co-ordinate the ideas which come forward and weld them together into a movement. And the PPU groups, which should be acting as the spearhead of the campaign because of their particular interest in the methods advocated by Gandhi and adopted by the Indian National Congress, have a prime responsibility in working out the way forward and in contributing ideas to the committee so that it can develop a line of action which comes from the members.

A new campaign programme is now in hand. It is hoped to broaden the representation on the committee; to set up a first-class Press and information service; to publish more pamphlets and leaflets of a really stimulating kind, and to prepare a touring exhibition which will portray graphically the facts of the Indian situation. This programme will succeed only if it has behind it the support and enthusiasm of PPU members, bringing with them their own particular contributions as pacifists.

Please remember that India may well be the first major testing-ground of the belief in non-violence. Is it too much to say that we have our part to play as an integral factor in the campaign?

GEOFFREY PITTOCK-BUSS

Is there a dictatorship of the screen?

By HOWARD KENT

BY acquiring the Regal Cinema, Marble Arch, Mr. Joseph Rank has gained control over every "first-run" cinema in the West End, apart from four owned by American companies for the showing of their own products.

The latest film made by Mr. Michael Balcon, head of Ealing Studios, is J. B. Priestley's "They Came to a City," in which pacifists will be interested. It has, according to the magazine What's On, "failed to get a West End booking or even a general release through any of the three major cinema circuits."

Maybe these two statements are completely unrelated but: Michael Balcon is one of the staunchest critics of Mr. Rank's cinema and film-production monopoly; and although "They Came to a City" has had a mixed reception, it is superior, I believe, to British pictures which have been greatly publicized and shown throughout the country.

All the major films produced by Ealing Studios in the past year appear to have been released through the only major film circuit which Mr. Rank does not control, Associated British Cinemas. The one real exception, a Tommy Trinder film called "Fiddlers Three," had its premiere at two Gaumont (Rank-controlled) West End cinemas. It was not said to be very good—although superior in its own class to, say, that great "success" "Madonna of the Seven Moons"—yet it also appears to have failed to secure a general release. Films produced by the companies which Mr. Rank supports appear to have at their command all the resources of publicity and to secure immediately adequate bookings.

FINANCIAL IMPORTANCE

The importance of this becomes apparent when one realizes that if a British picture, even of medium cost, is not shown in the West End or released through one of the major circuits it cannot be a financial success.

Mr. Balcon, who has been a leading

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Further information from: General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

British producer for many years and has many first-class films to his credit, believes in producing worthwhile pictures. In "They Came to a City" he put on the screen a play which had a popular social message. Does it not seem significant that the public is not to be permitted to see this picture at a large number of cinemas?

If a policy is put into operation which withholds facilities from all films that incur the displeasure of one man or even a group of men, then the future is black. We cannot overlook the vast importance of the screen today, and we cannot forget that by concentrating in one organization the power to make or break any film we are putting paid to any "freedom of the screen."

What can we do about it? I suggest that on the one hand we can do all in our power to point out the danger of this "dictatorship," and on the other hand we can all bombard our cinema-managers with demands that they should show "They Came to a City" and other films of a similar character. Public opinion can break even a monopoly.

"CONSCRIPTION MAY DESTROY ALL LIBERTY"

A WARNING against "the great danger of conscription becoming a permanent policy in post-war times" was given by Lord Mamhead in a letter to The Times on Jan. 27. He wrote:

"Those who have been life-long opponents of such a policy are hardly likely to have changed their minds from the experience of the last few years, when married women have been removed from their homes, girls sent miles away from their family surroundings, and young boys compelled to work in mines. This state of affairs may be tolerated by many during the crisis of a great war, but would be strongly opposed as a permanent peace policy."

"Once accepted, there is a great difficulty in knowing where conscription may end, as it places in the hands of a Government a weapon that may destroy all liberty as we have known it in the past. It might not merely lead to the conscription of wealth

C.B.C.O. protests at "manoeuvre" charge

THE Central Board for COs is making a strong protest to the Ministry of Labour at the action of Mr. G. H. M. Scatliff, counsel for the prosecution in a case at Brighton on Jan. 27, in describing as an "extraordinary manoeuvre" the plea of defending counsel that a 20-year-old CO, Ronald D. Morse, should receive a sentence of not less than three months for his refusal to undergo medical examination. This sentence would allow the CO to have his case re-heard by the Appellate Tribunal.

Defending counsel retorted: "It is not a manoeuvre. It is procedure provided for by the Act."

The chairman said the Bench was not prepared to assent to that course. Ronald Morse was sentenced to only two months' hard labour.

The CBCO had already taken up, as reported in the December issue of its Bulletin, a case at Worthing in which Mr. Scatliff, again acting for the prosecution, described as "a manoeuvre which defeated justice" the action of another CO who left land-work without permission, after being given land-work as a condition of exemption by the Appellate Tribunal following an appeal from prison. On that occasion the CBCO pointed out to the Ministry's Solicitor's Department that release from prison after recognition by a Tribunal involved no undertaking to comply with tribunal conditions, and protested at Mr. Scatliff's phrase.

Conscription in U.S.A.

The strength of the campaign against peacetime military conscription in the USA is indicated by a report that the American Fellowship of Reconciliation alone has published and sold over 100,000 pieces of literature on conscription.

and end there, but extend to the conscription of labour, the latter being in many instances the whole capital of the wage-earner—the Government could use the power of conscription to break any strike, however just that strike might be, and interfere with the freedom of all trade unions.

"If the nation is prepared thus to part with the freedom won after many struggles in the past, it will alone be to blame if it wakens one day to find that liberty of the individual is a thing of the past and the citizen of the future is to become a mere pawn on the chessboard of the State."

Mr. A. E. Field

Mr. A. E. Field of Derby, who is a conditionally registered CO aged 30, about 6 feet tall, with thin dark hair, a large nose, and pale complexion, is now in the London district. He has a considerable record of obtaining money from the CO movement over some years, and has recently been doing so in North Wales and Leicester. Those approached are advised to refer to the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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FOR SALE AND WANTED WAR RESISTERS' International would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons. 30s. dozen, 18s. 6d. six, 10s. three, 3s. 6d. each, all postage paid. Mention models, colours, P.N. Hardman's, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

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BURLS, 797 Old Kent Rd., S.E.15, for your new cycle and every type of repair. New Cross 4129.

SAMPLE BARGAIN FOUR. "Notre Dame a le Quai de Paris." Etching by C. R. W. Nevinson. Signed. Reproduced in "Masters of Etching." 2 gns. Box 785.

BAKER'S UNIVERSAL hand seed-drill, new 1944, perfect condition, £3 15s., or reasonable offer. Box 816.

4-WHEELED 13ft. caravan for sale, double-bed, coal range, suitable winter or summer, £150. "Caravan," Epsom, Windlesham, Surrey.

WANTED, JUVENILE CYCLE to suit boy age 7. Any condition. Write, 11a Mansfield Ave., East Barnet, Herts.

LITERATURE, etc.

"LEARN TO SPEAK" by Florence Surfleet, 1s. 6d. (1s. 8d. post free), for use with groups or individually. Headley Brothers, 109 Kingsway, W.C.2.

FREE BOOKLET entitled "Christ, the Communist," together with Price List of Books on Prophecy, Theology, Christian Communism, 21d. Kingdom Movement, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden.

BEDFORD NEWS-LETTER. A personal letter and short informed articles. Annually 10s., 6 months 5s. 6d.; specimen 6d. Secretary, News-Letter, Cairnmore, Newton Stewart, Scotland.

"LESSONS OF GREECE" (Rhys Davies, M.P.); "Death's Dividenda" (Ruth Fry); "Netherlands Notes" (Donald Pritchard); "Russian Education"; "Christian Revolution Methods" (Norman Robbins); poems (Ronald Mallone, Thomas Pittfield); "Votes for all?"; "Russia and Reconstruction"; "Crucified Hand" (Don Armitage); Commentary; 20 pages, 5d. "Christian Party News-Letter." "PN215," 30 Darby Rd., Oldbury.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, etc.

LONDON AREA P.P.U. "What kind of peace?" Series of meetings will be held on this subject in Hyde Park, Sundays, 3 p.m.

JOHN PATON on "Our Criminal Problem." Friends House, Euston Rd., Sat., Feb. 24, 2.30. Free admission. Organized by P.M.R.C.

LONDON FORUM. Director Frederick Lohr. Public lecture: Anthony Elengjmitan on "Being and Becoming." 7.15 p.m., Mon., Feb. 12, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1.

CONCERT IN AID OF Warsaw's Children. Tippet: A Child of Our Time; Bax: Fantasia on Polish Christmas Carols; Szymanowski: Ballet Suite "Harnasie." Joan Cross, Peter Pears, Margaret MacArthur, Owen Brannigan; Michael Tippett, Basil Cameron; London Philharmonic Orchestra; Leicester Philharmonic Society and Morley College Choirs. Feb. 28, 7 p.m. Royal Albert Hall, S.W.7. Tickets 3s.-12s. from Hall (Ken. 3661) or Morley College, S.E.1.

WORLD FOOD STANDARDS. P. W. Martin in the lecture series "Towards World Recovery." Livingstone Hall, Westminster, Tues., Feb. 13, at 5 p.m. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

LEEDS, Priestley Hall, City Square. Thurs., Feb. 15, 7 p.m. "The Spiritual Foundations of Peace," Kenneth Ingram, author of "The Night Is Far Spent" etc. First of series of 6 lectures on "The Conditions of a Constructive Peace." N.P.C. Tickets, reserved seats, Hopkinson's, 5 Commercial St., Leeds 1.

HIGH WYCOMBE I.L.P. F. A. Ridley on "Britain and Europe after the War." Trades and Labour Institute, Station Rd., High Wycombe; Sun., Feb. 18, 6 p.m. P.N. readers welcome.

PERSONAL

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BUSINESS WOMAN urgently needs someone share home and assist care of father, 85, Grey, 36 Ordinance Hill, N.W.5.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

PLASTERERS, other Tradesmen and Labourers required for South and North London house repairs. Ring GUL. 2065. Stewart and Richards Ltd., 34 Glenhurst Avenue, N.W.5.

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SECOND COWMAN wanted for pacifist co-operative farm. Accredited Friesians. Live in. Some experience. ALSO woman to keep house for three men. Bleasby Gfange Society Ltd., Legaby, Market Rasen, Lincs.

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MAN WITH EXPERIENCE in design and execution of stained glass wanted by firm in Canterbury. Details of experience please to C.B.C.O. Employment Dept.

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Help to make more Peace News readers. Pass on your copy, when you have finished with it, to someone who may be interested.

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

Purge in Bulgaria

SO complete is the black-out of direct news from Eastern Europe that it is only from Ankara we learn that three former Regents of Bulgaria, 22 former Ministers, 68 Bulgarian deputies, and 8 of King Boris's personal advisers have been executed. Twenty-seven other persons were sentenced to life-imprisonment.

In so small a country as Bulgaria this is practically an extermination of a whole political group. It gives the impression (says *The Times*, Feb. 3) that "the new régime—a curious combination of militarists with a violent, not to say Fascist, past and men of the extreme Left has resolved to make a clean sweep of all other parties." In fact the present Bulgarian "Prime Minister," Col. Georgiev and his War Minister, Col. Velchev, were among the ring-leaders of two military coups which destroyed the parliamentary government in Bulgaria. The "curious" combination of native Fascists (or plain military thugs) and Communists sheds a murky light on the great "ideological" war.

Security through power

JUST as no principle can be discovered in the European policy of Mr. Churchill, none can be discovered in that of Stalin. Manifestation of power is not a principle, neither is the pursuit of security. Principle is that which should determine the use of power, and supply a moral basis for security. The Russian policy proceeds from the axiom that power and power alone gives security. This is no worse, essentially, than British policy; but it is no better. And that's the rub. Was it really worth while for Russia to endure a revolution to this end?

There is no answering that question. It may be premature to ask it. A great country which has suffered the devastation which Germany inflicted on Russia can be excused if for a time it seeks security through sheer power, and the opportunism which is the handiest instrument of power. A breathing space for the vast work of material reconstruction is the first essential. If that means (as it looks like doing) that Russia will put von Paulus and his 50 generals back in Germany, Vansittart and his opponents will look equally foolish.

Henry Wallace's return

SPEAKING of the Wallace-Jones controversy which, dividing the US Senate, now divides the US itself, *The Times* (Jan. 31) says truly that "this particular struggle on the floor of the Senate is nearer to the realities of American life than the recent Presidential election."

In order to prevent the Democratic machine from splitting, Roosevelt had, unwillingly, to discard Wallace as Vice-President. The reactionary Southern Democrats were frightened of the liberal and progressive Wallace. The election safely won, Roosevelt appointed Wallace to a more powerful position than ever: that of Secretary of Commerce which now carries with it control of the Federal Loan Administration. This is the greatest single financial authority in the world. It has the power to make advances of 12 thousand million pounds! And it will control the employment policy of US during the next crucial years.

In order to appoint Wallace, Roosevelt sacked Jesse Jones, representative of the reactionary Southern Democrats. They promptly combined with the Republicans in the Senate to pass a Bill divorcing the lending agency from the Secretaryship of Commerce. Even so, it is quite possible that they will refuse to endorse the appointment of Wallace. The issue—which is essentially that of the common man v. the money-power—has struck the imagination of the USA, as well it might. Wallace, by his honesty, has in the last few months added cubits to his stature as the American statesman of the future.

But much may happen before that future comes. The well-informed USA correspondent of *The Economist* (Feb. 3) gives a serious warning:

"The coupling of a policy for full employment with the name of Henry Wallace may prove to be the undoing of both, and it is not impossible that the split in the coalition which elected Roosevelt may spread from the domestic to the foreign sphere."

Amateur surgeon was a C.O.
Operated under fire

THE story of a 19-year-old member of an American medical corps on the Western Front who saved the life of a fellow-soldier by cutting his throat to allow him to breathe was widely reported in the Press in November.

We now learn from USA that the man who performed this emergency operation was a conscientious objector, Duane N. Kinman.

The incident occurred during the US Third Army's attack on Metz. The patient, a rifleman, had a shrapnel wound in his neck which was rapidly suffocating him. The CO had only a pocket knife and fountain pen as surgical instruments.

The light was dull and murky and the "operating table" was a field of

deep mud. Shell and machine-gun fire was intense. There was no anaesthetic; the wounded man was held down by another soldier.

Duane Kinman managed to cut a neat vertical incision an inch and a half long and inserted the fountain pen to keep the windpipe open. Army doctors afterwards expressed amazement at the operation—a difficult one under good conditions; the only improvement that could be made was the insertion of a regular tracheotomy tube.

An American university has offered Kinman a scholarship to its medical school—an offer with which he is delighted since he had already decided to be a surgeon.

Strike-breaking was too much

PRIVATE A. Lambert, Pioneer Corps, a former Swansea dock worker, told a court-martial at Longmoor, Hants., that it was too much for his conscience when he was sent with his unit from Manchester, after breaking the gas strike there, to Cardiff to break a dock strike.

"It would have been useless," he declared (according to the *Evening Standard*, Jan. 27), "to have discussed my conscience with the commanding officer."

He was on trial for being absent without leave from Nov. 18 to Dec. 18, and was sentenced to 16 months' detention.

Advisory Bureaux changes

Gravesend (Kent): individual adviser now R. R. G. Hicks, 39 Hillingdon Rd., Gravesend. London & South-Eastern Regional Secretary: Dennis M. Allen, 11 Beresford Rd., London, N.5. (CLIssold 3571.)

Gainsborough: now Norman Poole, 49 Gordon St., Gainsborough.

Deleth Northwich.

Wrexham: now Sidney Hamlet, 65 Sandway Rd., Wrexham.

Cardiff: now Walter Serrill, 45 Inverness Place, Roath, Cardiff.

RE-EDUCATION
OF BRITAIN

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

more than the least in an over-mastering Big Three.

It will more accord with our new position to join the many countries whose best hope is in mutual dealings and federal association, countries not self-contained but depending for prosperity upon assisting each other's resources. Whatever happens to the Empire, that part which owes little or nothing to war will continue an asset, but an asset which a relatively declining Power will best preserve by sharing, especially with the previously disinherited.

In the Spanish Civil War, to our credit, we sought to limit mass bombing from the air. Since then we have created precedents in frightfulness as if we would never ourselves be minor in power. So with the blockading, and with the distributions of arms and the encouragements to lawlessness in resistance. Starvation and anarchy may be weapons for countries whose position and width of territory effectively separate them from the consequences. A land naturally small, urban, in the centre of the land hemisphere, and only too likely to encounter domestic crises, will in future need to be earnest for that general good which consists in reducing and limiting, at least, the weapons of war.

We are at the reverse of the position after Napoleon. All, then, was growth, invention, expansion. It is easier to expand than suffer curtailment; yet new poverty will be no less if it enforces a better spread of whatever there is, through limited inequalities of income, little private luxury, and a wider enjoyment of simple necessities.

Outlook for pacifists

Pacifism does not abjure all force. To train a child a mother rightly will impose her will. From a burning house a fireman will carry off, forcibly, a person too frightened or too helpless to co-operate in saving himself. Pacifism does not deny police action in which the element of compulsion is minor. What it does entirely reject is that unavowed reason and final argument for barbaric (or Satanic) conflict by which life is regarded as necessarily a mortal struggle. Against this conception, implicit in all war, that either we or they go under, it sets the spiritual truth that we with them can grow out of animal conflict. Growing not like a tree, but by effort, personal and collective, we can live toward a mutual relation of peoples and nations.

The re-education of Britain which is coming may not convert even one-tenth of the British people to a staunch pacifism. But beyond the crises which this so madly extended war must leave behind it, the whole outlook is one far more likely to accord, and profoundly accord, with the pacifist faith.

NOT DISQUALIFIED
THIS TIME

In the House of Commons on Feb. 1 Major Peto asked the Home Secretary under what conditions COs were disqualified from registration as Parliamentary and local government electors after the last war, and whether it is proposed to adopt any similar procedure after this war in the case of those who have not only refused to fight but also to undertake alternative forms of national service.

The Home Secretary: "The Representation of the People Act of 1918 disqualified from being registered as Parliamentary or local government electors until five years after the official termination of the war conscientious objectors who had been exempted from all military service and members of the Forces who had been awarded detention or imprisonment for an offence against military law which they represented to be the result of a conscientious objection to military service, unless they could prove within one year of that date by means of a certificate from the Central Tribunal that they had been engaged in work of national importance. The arrangements for dealing with conscientious objection in this war under the National Service Acts have been rather different. Parliament has not provided for any such differentiation under the new electoral legislation."

Mr. Rhys Davies: "Is it not true that many conscientious objectors, disfranchised after the last war, became Members of this House, some of them Cabinet Ministers, too?"

Mr. McGovern: "Is the Minister aware that a considerable number of Members who were elected to this House during the war, as soldiers, quickly had conscientious objections about remaining in the Army, and decided to stay in the House?"

Mr. Speaker: "That is an imputation which should not have been made about hon. Members."

(Major Peto was elected as Conservative member for the Kings Norton Division of Birmingham in May, 1941, when he defeated Stuart Morris in a by-election. When elected he was a Captain in the Army, but later gave up his military career to give greater attention to his Parliamentary duties.)

LETTERS

A cause of offence?

We write partly to express a point of view that seems to us important for the cause of pacifism, and partly as we think it will serve a useful purpose if it provokes others to reply, either by contradiction or endorsement.

We started taking *Peace News* from its first number. We worked for the PPU when it began, and greatly admired Dick Sheppard and all he stood for. Four years ago we gave up taking *Peace News* because it seemed to us to care for, and to dwell upon, more the political aspect of pacifism, the political sins of non-pacifists, than the constructive aspect of pacifism which Dick Sheppard so emphatically stood for, namely, hating the sin, but striving to love the sinner, be the sinner our own government, a political party, or the Germans.

A few weeks ago we were given as a present a year's subscription to *Peace News*, and the donor made the remark, "I'm told it's improved: that it is much less political and has not so much carping criticism—more back to the spirit of Dick Sheppard." So far, every number we have received seems to us as disappointingly acrimonious as ever.

Do others feel as we do?

V. H. MOTTRAM

E. C. MOTTRAM

Hope Cottage, Donhead St. Mary,

Shaftesbury, Dorset.

German repentance

Strange things appear in the pages of *Peace News*. The latest is an effort by Messrs. Ullman and Hobhouse to persuade us that Germany is penitent and therefore entitled to forgiveness at the hands of an archbishop whose Christianity includes the cold-blooded obliteration of women and children. What charming refinements of moral gangsterdom! Furthermore, some of the latest and most perverted sophistries uttered by Christian clergymen seem to imply that the more you forgive the sinner must be the punishment you mete out, so the Germans can rely upon a dose of super-forgiveness whatever happens.

Can't we make an end of all this indecent nonsense? I have never been asked, and should never consent, to repent for the Amritsar massacre. It is not only "premature" (as Ullman and Hobhouse say) to expect penitence from Germans for sins they have not individually committed and are not aware of, it is idiotic and will be idiotic when they hear of them. We had better wait till the war ends to see what is left that can be imputed as a crime to any German. When one considers that the brutal Russian invasion of Finland is now regarded as a lovely act, when one remembers the bloodthirsty vendettas being enacted all over Europe today, when one realizes that the deportation of Germans from East Prussia is the true fruit of the Atlantic Charter, it is obvious that Nazism is everywhere triumphant. How can we ask even the Nazis to repent when they have converted us?

D. G. WILLIAMS

299 Stroud Rd., Gloucester.

An uninspiring "Wilson"

Corder Catchpool's review of the film "Wilson" raises some interesting points but does nothing to convince me that it is a good film or that it will have any appreciable effect on public opinion either here or in America. At least any effect that it may have will, I fear, be the opposite to what peace-lovers would wish, and this mostly because it is dull and too long and the acting extremely wooden.

The effect on my section of the very American audience was illuminating. Every time Senator Lodge appeared one kept saying "Pity we've not got a Lodge in Washington now." The reaction of another to one of Wilson's speeches was "Oh yeah, and I get the draft." Maybe one should not read too much into these chance remarks. Perhaps they are indicative only of the long way many Americans have still to go before they accept an international outlook. I wish I could believe that this film would do something to help.

On the other hand, the lesson which should have been clear to Americans was not lost on

some English friends who came away convinced that America lost the peace for us. This, of course, is partly true, but it does not seem a very inspiring lesson for our own people. Certainly not one which will encourage them to press for a little more intelligence and perspicacity and less power-politics in British international affairs.

No, for once I agree with the critics. Perhaps if the original intention had been adhered to, and a documentary made, something effective might have been achieved. As it is a great opportunity has been missed.

JOHN LAMMING

Romain Rolland

The point of my letter was that Rolland was, in his latter years, associated with the Communist Party. There is no comparison here with Andre Gide, who has been for years a vigorous anti-Stalinist—in fact Rolland in his "last phase" attacked Gide for Gide's attacks on the Soviet Union. As to Rolland's pacifism there was no doubt of it in 1930-31. I have letters from Rolland at that time, clearly expressing a pacifist conviction. But although I have no documentary evidence handy, I have a very clear memory of Rolland's repudiation of pacifism in later years—a fact which will be established beyond doubt in due course by his French and Swiss associates.

REGINALD REYNOLDS

Wimbledon.

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